PREFACE

This paper is the result of two and one-half months' field work among the Washo Indians of California and Nevada supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In it I have tried to describe the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Washo as they can be examined today. Where possible I have attempted to reconstruct the aboriginal patterns and trace the course of change between these two points in time.

A second purpose has been to supplement the culture element distribution lists prepared by Omer C. Stewart in 1936 (Stewart 1941). In a number of instances his findings were at variance with those of Smith, whose notes Stewart incorporated; I have been able to resolve some of the differences between Stewart and Smith. Where my own research has led me to disagree with the statements in the culture element distributions I have discussed the problem. In general my own work simply expands the rather sparse descriptions of the element lists (Stewart 1941, pp. 366-418). The culture element distribution list numbers which refer to traits dealt with in the various sections are indicated in parentheses following the headings. Where a trait or complex is dealt with in detail it is indicated by parentheses in the text. Statements not otherwise attributed are the result of my own field work.

I am indebted to Mr. W. L. d'Azevedo, who encouraged me to carry on field work among the Washo and who has made his own field notes and knowledge available to me. I have indicated information attributable to d'Azevedo by placing his name in parentheses in the text; where his name appears with a date, the reference is to a work published by him.

I also wish to express my thanks for the suggestions made by J. H. Rowe, R. F. Millon, and D. M. Schneider, who read this article before it went to press, and to acknowledge the final reading given the manuscript by the late A. L. Kroeber.

In addition, my thanks are owed to Mr. Frank Yapparagari, Mrs. Juanita Schubert, and Mrs. Lois Buck of Gardnerville and Minden, Nevada, to Mr. Richard Shulter of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City, Nevada, and to Mrs. E. M. Keenan of Paradise, California, who assisted in various ways in the progress of the investigation. Last, to the various members of the Washo tribe, who with patience and good humor bore the probing into their lives, my deepest gratitude.

James F. Downs

[Introductory, P. iii]

[P. 365, B]

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

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In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

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The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

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Wherever possible I have tried to include direct quotations from informants as well as information about their behavior and attitudes, so that my own interpretations and conclusions can be examined by others in light of the information on which they are based.

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Statements made by informants are indicated by quotation marks. I did not have a recording device available and did not attempt to record entire interviews verbatim. However, whenever informants indicated that they considered their statements important I took them down word for word. If I felt some passing remark to have significance, I asked the informant to repeat it and often read it back to him for verification. Other stories, particularly those of a mythological nature, or semilegends, or experiences which were important to individual informants, were repeated voluntarily on almost every occasion of our meeting. Whenever statements are presented in quotation marks the material was gathered in this manner.

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This paper contains material from a number of sources. Statements of fact or interpretations taken from published anthropological or historic works are indicated by citations in the customary manner. Information based on conversations or other private communications with other investigators is so designated. All statements of fact which are not credited to these two sources are taken from my own field notes and represent statements of my informants.

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PREFACE

This study was approved in essentially its present form in April, 1962, as a Master's thesis by the University of Utah. Financial aid was provided by a Graduate Fellowship from the National Science Foundation, and is acknowledged with gratitude. The data were collected in the field from June to September of 1961 from informants representing all major sections of Washo territory. My major Washo informants were Hank Pete, Bertha Holbrook, George Snooks, and Clara Frank of Dresslerville Colony in Nevada and Roy James of Woodfords, California. In addition, Susie Dick, Richard Barrington, Earl James, Don James, and Tom Barber were helpful.

Several other residents of Douglas County, Nevada and Alpine County, California aided my study. They were Harry Hawkins, Mr. and Mrs. John Fettic, Grant Merrill, Ruth Kelly, Earl C. Brennen and Grover Krick. Special thanks are extended to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada for advice and the use of her Washo ethnographic notes and photographs made from 1917 through 1919. Juanita Schubert of Minden, Nevada and Margaret Wheat of Carson City, Nevada shared with me their extensive experience in the area.

Professors Gordon L. Grosscup, B. Jack White, and Robert Anderson have helped me to refine this study. The advice and criticism of Warren L. d'Azevedo over the whole range of my research has been of great benefit.

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovives exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile tes
and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primar
see category 116, pp. 372-375, 379(A)--413./

and their application to the status
and secondary kin relations,

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[P.349, B]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

114 In the summers of 1952 and 1953, an attempt was made to add to the data on aboriginal Washo culture; during the last two, in the summer of 1956 and the winter of 1956-57, Washo social structure and kinship terminology were intensively investigated to determine if they had changed appreciably as a result of white contact. My wife assisted me on these last two trips.

BGB I am indebted to a number of people for their help and encouragement. Professor Edward Norbeck, chairman of my thesis committee, introduced me to the study of kinship and has closely guided both my field research and the writing of this report. Professor David M. Schneider pointed out to me the usefulness of the role concept in the study of kinship and social structure. The hypothesis here proposed to account for the Washo kinship data was derived from the articles by Schneider and Homans (1955) and Schneider and Roberts (1956) and was elaborated and discussed in several long conversations with Dr. Schneider. Professor Mary R. Haas read the manuscript several times and offered a number of suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due Professor Josephine Miles and Martin A. Baumhoff, who read and criticized the manuscript. Professor Evelyn A. Fix suggested the statistical analysis used in this study, and the section on statistics was written under her supervision. Any errors of calculation or interpretation are, of course, the responsibility of the author. Unless otherwise noted, Washo words are written in a phonemic system developed for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Jacobsen advised me on all linguistic matters. The field research was supported by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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The classification of kinship systems used in this study is the one proposed by Robert H. Lowie (1928). On the basis of the terminological usages in the parental generation, he defined four types of kinship systems: generation, bifurcate merging, lineal, and bifurcate collateral. In generation terminology, one term is used for all male relatives and another term for all female relatives in the parental generation. In bifurcate merging terminology there is a single term for father and father's brother and a single term for mother and mother's sister, but father's sister and mother's brother have separate terms. The lineal type of terminology distinguishes father from father's brother and mother's brother (who are designated by a single term) and mother from mother's sister and father's sister (who are also referred to by a single term). Bifurcate collateral terminology has six distinct terms for parents and their siblings. Lowie's four types "can be applied to any trio of kinsmen in the same generation and of the same sex, provided the second is a collateral relative of the first in the same line of descent and the third is related to Ego in the same manner as the second except for a difference in the sex of the connecting relative" (Murdock, 1949, p. 142).

THE TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The standard or aboriginal Washo kinship terminology is given in table 1 (pp. 356-357). The standard terminology is still used by the majority of modern Washo. It is a generation type of terminology in ego's generation and a bifurcate collateral type in the first ascending and first descending generations.

The morphophonemic analysis of kinship terms in table 1 is by William H. Jacobsen. The first column lists a number for each term; these numbers are the same as the ones used in the diagram of the standard Washo consanguineal kinship system appearing on figure 1. The second column gives the English translation for each term. The third column presents the singular form with the prefix indicating first person possessive. The final column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. If the stem is preceded by a hyphen, this indicates that it must always take a possessive prefix even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. The terms are given in approximately the order used by Lowie (1939).

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All cousins are called older and younger brother or sister depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. The relative ages of ego and his cousin do not affect the choice of terms; hence, a person may call a chronologically older cousin "younger brother," provided that his parent is older than his cousin's parent. Kroeber (1917) says that cousins are called older or younger siblings according to their own ages. This point was thoroughly checked with a number of informants and they all agree that terms applied to cousins depend on the relative ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than on the ages of ego and his cousins. Since Kroeber's

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[text continues on p. 358, A]

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

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the average value of X for all individuals who receive the rank r. For any given value of X, say x, the probability that you will get a sample of n in which exactly (r - 1) will have values of $X > x$ and (n - r) will have values of $X < x$ while one will have a value in the interval (x, x + dx) is

$$\frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} q_3$$

where q_1, q_2, and q_3 are the probabilities respectively for falling short of x, exceeding x, and falling in the interval (x, x + dx).

More precisely, to within terms of order dx,

$$q_1 = \int_{-\infty}^{x} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_2 = \int_{x}^{\infty} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_3 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

The formula for the expected or mean value, μ_r, of the rth rank can then be written as follows

$$\mu_r = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} x \cdot q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

A table for the values of μ_r is given in Fisher and Yates (1953, pp. 76-77).

Admittedly in our data, the samples of n were not selected at random since they consist of all the relatives of the ranker in three selected generations. However, the Washo are a small, homogeneous, interrelated group; therefore, the relatives of one person are probably quite similar to the relatives of any other person. Taking this into consideration, it was thought that the relatives ranked by a given individual would have sufficient spread over the range of a characteristic to make the use of the metric μ_r meaningful. At the very least, the use of normal scores is a device which enables one to put rankings of, say, fourteen items and rankings of, say, seven items on numerical scales which are comparable.

If the kinship terms have no effect on the ranking within the categories, then the assignment of the kinship terms to the particular individuals being ranked would be at random. Thus, the rank of "father" would depend on the specific characteristics of the individual being ranked and not on the fact that he is called father. Consequently, it would seem that since individuals vary, the rankings of "father" would also vary from protocol to protocol. If, however, it were found that the rank of "father" is relatively constant, then it would seem that the kinship term "father" has a weight in determining rankings.

After normal scores had been assigned to the test rankings, the mean, standard error of the mean, and 95 per cent confidence limits were calculated for each

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relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happenned to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

ROLE BEHAVIOR

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One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, sibless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly coöperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate.

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to coöperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories.[1] They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest score for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to coöperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who coöperate with men are men and those who coöperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who coöperate with women as opposed to those who coöperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Ed.]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- An.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

and anticipated Kroeber's formal analysis of Washo in 1907, The Washo Language of East Central California. S. A. Barrett worked among the Miwok, the immediate western neighbors of the Washo, during the first decade of the 1900's. In 1917 he published the first ethnographic monograph on Washo culture, The Washo Indians. About the same time Edward Sapir published two definitive articles, The Status of Washo, and Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo. In 1926 Lowie turned his attention briefly from the Shoshone, Ute and Southern Paiute to study the Washo. His Ethnographic Notes on the Washo appeared in 1939. An extensive collection of Washo myths has not yet been published. Grace Dangberg's Washo Texts appeared in 1927, and her field notes gathered over the many years of her residence in Carson Valley are a major ethnographic resource.

Though the published materials listed above constitute a valuable accumulation of data about the Washo people and their culture, no part of it represents the result of intensive field work or continuous interest in a particular group in the same sense that many other tribes in California or the Great Basin have been studied. In the 1930's two ethnologists worked for extended periods among the Washo directing special attention to the newly introduced Peyote Cult and to problems of acculturation. Omer Stewart's monograph, Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation, is an important contribution to studies of the diffusion of this cult, and is a classic description of its introduction among the Washo while the investigator was in the field. His culture element lists for Northern Paiute, Washo, and Achomawi were completed about this time and, along with his excellent survey, The Northern Paiute Bands, provide some of the best and most complete data available for the area. Edgar Siskin's dissertation, The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians, has been widely appealed to by recent students of the Washo for its detailed data concerning the last of the Washo shamans and its cogent analysis of the role of the Peyotists in the dramatic period of culture change in the late 1930's.

No further field work or publication was carried out with regard to the Washo until the 1950's. During the past decade, important archeologic investigations have been undertaken in the region by Robert F. Heizer, Albert B. Elsasser, Martin A. Baumhoff, and others. Francis A. Riddell's archeologic and ethnologic work in the Honey Lake region has provided numerous data concerning the relations of the northern Washo and adjacent Paiute bands. During the same period William H. Jacobsen, Jr., gathered extensive linguistic materials toward a new analysis of the Washo language.

The collection of papers in the present volume represents all of the students who have made any ethnologic investigation among the Washo since 1952. Though some of the authors have published elsewhere on the group,

the materials they have presented in these pages provide a considerable advancement of our knowledge of these Great Basin people and makes this work easily available to the reader. It is hoped that an effort of this kind will stimulate further research in the Great Basin and encourage others to organize and present the results of field work from other sections of the area. 114 128

All of the contributors to this volume, with one exception, share a tradition of having conducted their first field projects among the Washo. We are honored by the preface from Professor Samuel Barrett whose interest in the Washo and other western American Indian groups goes back to the turn of the century, and whose monograph in 1917 was the first major study of this culture by a professional anthropologist. Professor Barrett resides in Berkeley, California, where he is Research Professor and Director of the American Indian Films project organized by him and the late Alfred L. Kroeber at the University of California. His recent excursions among the Washo and other Indian communities have provided filmed records of customs and technologies that might soon have been lost to us forever. The resulting motion pictures are considered to be among the finest of their kind. 114

Ruth and Stanley Freed conducted field research among the Washo intermittently from 1952 to 1957. Their interests were directed primarily to social organization and acculturation. Stanley Freed's published dissertation, Changing Washo Kinship, is an important recent contribution to Great Basin studies. He is, at present, Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. Philip Leis, an assistant professor at Brown University, worked among the Washo in the summer of 1954 with particular emphasis on aspects of socialization, life cycle and personality. In the summer of 1955 Freda and Norman Scotch conducted intensive interviewing and testing of 100 Washo informants with a special concern for problems of diet, employment and health. Norman Scotch is a research associate in Anthropology at the Harvard School of Public Health, and Director of the Cross Cultural Disease Survey. John Price's master's thesis, Washo Economy, completed at the University of Utah and based upon field work during the summer of 1961, constitutes the fullest description of Washo economic life undertaken to date. He is now a doctoral candidate and National Science Foundation Fellow at the University of Michigan. James Downs, an assistant professor at the University of Rochester, did his field work among the Washo in the summer of 1959. In addition to the papers offered here, his dissertation, Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes: Washo and Navaho, and a monograph, Washo Religion, are valuable new ethnologic sources. Warren d'Azevedo has worked among the Washo intermittently since 1953 with emphasis upon ethnohistory, social organization and Peyotism. The present volume of papers was compiled by him during the fall of 1961 and the spring of 1962 at the University of Utah, and is an expression of the mutual interest of the authors in a collective presentation of their current writings on the Washo.

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

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The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

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178 behavior of the modern Washo, for the Washo remain a recognizable group, the language is still spoken, and although modern Washo culture is chiefly western American, there remain a moderate number of cultural patterns from aboriginal times (Freed, 1960; Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 815-18; Stewart, 1944, 82-3).

Notes

114
115 1. This paper is based upon 14 weeks of field work in the summers
122 of 1952 and 1953. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha
128 Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Henry Rupert of Carson City, Nevada. The field work was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom our thanks are due. We also wish to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mr. Philip L. Newman of the American Museum of Natural History who criticized early drafts of the paper.

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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154 cultural study concerned with process, but the explicit investigation of education as an adjustive mechanism, as an instrument for replacing institutions with new ones in a situation of cultural change, still requires further attention. In the case of the Washo one of the functions of education had broken down, at least for the time being; aggressions were not being redirected toward acceptable scapegoat objects, nor were there opportunities to express them in any other way. The fear of witchcraft and antagonism toward sorcerers had not been replaced, and aggression had been internalized in a seemingly self-destructive fashion. The problem was epitomized in an answer given by a young boy when asked what he would like to be when he grew up. He replied, "An Indian" -- as in the movies. Whether the Washo can retain their cultural identity and still develop institutional outlets for their aggressions, or find some other means besides the self-defeating ones they had at the time we visited them, remains to be seen.

Notes

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128 1. An abridged version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, May, 1957. My thanks are due Alan P. Merriam for his helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

154 2. Erikson has stated that if an individual cannot release his aggressions, they "can only turn inward to threaten the aggressor himself" (quoted in Kluckhohn, 1944, 51).

Blood pressure determinations were
made by the senior author at least three times during each interview, at five minute intervals. Heights and weights were also determined. Interviews were conducted in the homes of respondents.

It was hoped at the outset that each adult member of the three Washo communities of Dresslerville, Woodfords and Carson City would be included in the survey. However, the pressures of time limited the series to 100 persons, representing approximately 50% of the adult population of these three communities. All but two or three of the Washo contacted agreed to participate in the study. Nonetheless, the possibility that the interviewed group was biased in some manner, such as being more geographically accessible and therefore socially "different" from non-contacts, suggests that results be interpreted with caution.

For the analysis that follows, a diastolic blood pressure, taken during the initial interview, of 90 mm. Hg. or more was defined as an indication of hypertension. Tests of significance used in the analysis are based on Chi squares or T-tests. Findings significant at or beyond the 10% level of confidence are reported.

Results

The mean blood pressure levels of the Washo studied are set out in Table I by age and sex. It will be noted that in this sample blood pressure increases with age, that the males have higher pressures in the younger ages and the females higher pressures in the older ages. Further, Washo blood pressures are high in terms of the criterion traditionally used as an indication of hypertension -- a reading of 90 mm. Hg. or more for the diastolic -- as indicated by the fact that the mean pressures, particularly of the older groups, are either very close to, or above, the upper limits of "normal."

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the 114 section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and interpretations throughout the paper. 1/1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwell- [621] ings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHO SOURCES

by Warren L. d'Azevedo and John A. Price

Two major objectives have guided the preparation of this bibliography: (1) systematization of the sources of information concerning a little known group of the western Great Basin, and (2) demonstration of the value of intensive bibliographic research in disclosing the wide range of written comment and data that frequently remains unexamined in the course of standard ethnographic work. Though this bibliography can make no claim to exhaustive coverage, it does represent the product of a number of years of consistent interest in a specific people, and will prove to be a research aid of considerable utility for those conducting anthropological investigation in the area.

No attempt has been made to present complete annotation for all entries, or to evaluate them according to a scale of worth. When a work is sufficiently well known, or a title provides adequate description of content, editorial comment has not been added. This is also true of a number of entries included for the general background they afford regarding history and characteristics of the region the Washo have inhabited. Whenever the Washo have been referred to in significant context, however, note is made of this fact. Much of the annotation reflects the specialized interests of the compilers insofar as the material has been collected in connection with particular research projects over a period of time. For this reason, even the more lengthy and detailed descriptions can do no more than suggest the full value of the respective works as sources of data for other students.

The bibliography has been organized into five categories. The section entitled Anthropology contains sources that provide data concerning the ethnology, language, archeology, and anthropometry of the Washo. A following section of Unpublished materials has been included as a convenient guide to manuscripts, field notes and collections. The section on History comprises works in which the Washo are discussed in the context of early historical relations of the region or which offer evidence pertinent to a definition of their changing social milieu. The entries under Ecology have been found to be the most useful references on the physiographic and biological aspects of the area. The final section of General materials includes a wide variety of works concerning peoples adjacent to the Washo, or works that are especially significant for comparative purposes. Also included are a number of entries that were not appropriate to any of the other categories, but contain material of peripheral interest.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

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The compilers wish to acknowledge the contributions of Stanely A. Freed, Omer C. Stewart and Gordon L. Grosscup, who generously shared the results of their own scholarship during initial preparation of this bibliography. The many hours of painstaking assistance provided at various times by Kay Sweeney and James F. Downs are also gratefully noted. Financial aid from the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund has supported much of the basic research of which this bibliography is, in part, a result.

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-AR	Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk Lore.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

N
W
127
128 ●
171
795*

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab 8: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way ... like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

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a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women ... 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 26a).

W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

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APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; s, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.